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CULTURAL STATUS AT THE DAWN OF THE GHOST DANCE

By 1892 the aboriginal Pawnee culture of a century earlier had been profoundly altered. A tribe of villagers, accustomed to living in earth-lodges and tipis, and to maintaining themselves by digging-stick cultivation of corn, beans and squash, and by hunting the buffalo, had become a loose aggregate of people, living more or less in families on separate farm tracts, dependent for their maintenance in part on plow cultivation of the land, and in part on the philanthropy of their overlords, the United States government.

From a political and social standpoint the Pawnee had been transformed from an independent self-determining nation into a group of families subject to the will of representatives of an alien race. The Pawnee chiefs were chiefs only in name and ancient lineage; what power they had among the Pawnee flowed from a continuing respect for their origins and their conduct. But no directing leadership in the destiny of the tribe was open to the chiefs; they could decide what they wished in council; it must then be submitted to the approval and sanction of the Agent, a representative of another government which ruled them.

The hunt and the warpath were gone, and with them the activities of youth and early manhood, which, in terms of the tradition and beliefs of their race, gave value to the life of a man. The hazard and danger of life as they had lived it before made them energetic, active and self-reliant. He who did not depend upon himself was lost. Now there was always the annuity, the agent, and rations. For women the life had also been radically altered. Their former routine had been a difficult and laborious one, working in the fields, making tent covers and clothing, cooking, and tending the children. But it had been part of a life which had broad and deep meaning as a way of life, in which their function was basic and valuable.

The family relationships which had brought all the people close together in their villages were broken down with the substitution of frame houses on the farms for the old earth-lodge. In the earth-lodge a large, extended family lived together; the family line cohered around the women. On the farms the frame house was built for a man as head of a family, and was primarily for the small, limited family group as conceived by the white man.

From a material standpoint the arts and techniques which had been practised for centuries by the people, carried to practical perfection as their form of adjustment to the conditions of the world in which they lived, were broken down by the appearance of

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a new set of conditions in which they were no longer necessary or possible.

The extinction of the buffalo and the complete cessation of hunting meant the elimination of all the arts which had centered around the handling of skins. Tipis were no longer necessary; buffalo robes were not as good as blankets; the preparation of skin clothing was a thankless task when the agent issued the appurtenances of the white man for the asking. The technique of using wood for bowls and utensils, for mortar and pestle, for traps and bows and arrows, was passing into oblivion. The working of horn and bone, of which spoons and ladles had been made, was unnecessary in view of the ease with which the white man's pots and pans and utensils could be had. Pottery of clay had already become extinct for lack of use and function.

The beliefs and philosophies of men to be alive must be inherent in and consonant with the way by which men live. When the men no longer hunted the buffalo, when they no longer needed power and invulnerability on the warpath, when the women no longer had to contribute fertility to the fields they planted, the ancient cosmology of the Pawnee was without a reference. The ritual lore of the great sacred bundles of the tribe was handed on less and less: it died with priests who, increasingly subject to death as the mortality of the tribe increased year by year, had neither time nor inspiration to hand it on. The ceremonies, becoming functionless, became extinct.

Once the young men of the tribe joined in many brotherhoods. These societies of men concerned themselves with the activities of manhood in Pawnee life, hunting and war. Each had special powers and functions for aiding in the successful accomplishment of the ends of war and the hunt, powers derived from the greater bundles which came directly from the ruling forces of the world. These societies too became functionless, and as the membership died off, the brotherhoods no longer met to dance and sing.

The chiefs had constituted a brotherhood of their own. When youths became men, and took upon themselves the serious business of maintaining the welfare of the tribe, they could, by demonstrating in their daily behavior their growing wisdom and capacity for leadership, become eligible to sit in the society of the chiefs. The forms of the chief's society ritual was carried on down into the present; much that was of value in the old ethics of the tribe was still explained to the youths even a year ago by the few who had not forgotten. But here again, the paramount functions of the society were gone.

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The medicine men of the tribe carried on. The Doctor Dances were given year after year; although after 1878 the great Doctor Performances through which the medicine men renewed their powers were no longer demonstrated. The function of the doctors did not disappear; health became a possession more difficult to secure as the years passed. But against the white man's diseases the folk medicine of the Pawnee doctors proved essentially futile: as did the white man's medicine itself.

With the passing of the greater part of the old ritualism and ceremony, the arts of ceremonial decoration, of making ritual costumes, bear-claw necklaces, otter-skin collars, of painting the body, went with them. The Doctor Dances kept something of the ritual decorative arts alive.

If we turn from this catalog of the decline of aboriginal Pawnee culture what can we see that had come to take its place? Needing the Indian's land for the expansion of the white man, the government was compelled to give the Indian an economy which would be self-sustaining while it confined the tribe in narrower boundaries. It gave the Indian farming. This being seasonal, and subject to the vicissitudes of the elements, it did not mean independence. For a meat supply the Indian did not use his own resources; the government gave him meat. When his crops failed, the government rationed him.

What occupations took the place of the old? The boys learned some manual arts. They could help to build their own houses, to repair their implements; the girls meanwhile learned some sewing, how to wash clothing, how to keep house. All these were essentially mechanical operations; their aesthetic returns are for the most part small. What creative satisfaction was to be had in manual arts, the boys did achieve in harness-making, carpentering, wagon-making, and the like, where they had opportunity to put into practise what they had learned.

The small measure of self-government which the Indians were offered through the Court of Indian Offenses was subject to the paternal control of the Agent and the government; it was concerned after all with the minor legal problems of their life. It helped to revive something of self-determination.

If we turn finally to the intellectual side of Pawnee life we find that practically nothing came to take the place of the old rituals and ceremonies, the old dances and social gatherings, the old traditions and songs. Missionaries had been among the Pawnee from 1835 to 1837, and again there were missionaries after 1883

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With what results? In 1891 even the optimistic reports of the missionaries claimed only thirty-five church members, and twenty or more years later not over a seventh of the tribe even professed Christianity according to official reports.

In 1892, after the best efforts of the Pawnee for over three generations to adjust themselves to living alongside the white man, the tribe had come to a cultural impasse, with nothing to look forward to and nothing to live by.

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FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is probably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied to them by the neighboring tribes because of their peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they were not nomads. They spent the greater part of every year in permanent villages and raised large crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn played a much more important part than the buffalo in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting people.

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105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and bas-
291 ket-weaving. During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some dis-
[361] tance to the north. In their settlements along the river,
the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) con-
[793] taining sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these ob-
622 jects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

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*172 764 ings. A wild-cat skull with a copper military button set into each eye socket was taken from a grave at the Hill site; it doubtless represented a fetish. Occasionally rodent skulls, crystals, animal claws and teeth, and similar objects are found close together, as though originally contained in a bag. Catlinite pipes (pl. 8) are sometimes found; pottery is very seldom present.

It is of interest to note that sometimes a skeleton is found minus an arm, a leg, or even a skull, though otherwise well preserved. Such individuals may have been victims of a raid or of some other mishap. Amputation by cutting through the bones seems to be absent.

CONCLUSIONS

*172 ● 105 In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to present the available traditional, historical, and archeological evidence bearing on the historic and protohistoric culture of the Pawnee. Here we endeavor to correlate these various lines of evidence, pointing out certain of their wider cultural implications, and attempting to fit the Pawnee into the general scheme of aboriginal American culture. To do so solely on the basis of the material here presented may seem premature, yet the writer is convinced that for the sake of future work these suggested relationships, even if more or less tenuous, should be indicated. Hence we will briefly discuss each of these three major headings in order.

The only point on which all Pawnee migration traditions agree is that the tribe originally lived to the south of its historic habitat, though the exact locality varies somewhat. Dunbar intimates that the ancestral home was with the Wichita on the lower Red River,[80] whence the two tribes moved northward as one people. Grinnell, on the strength of what he regarded as the oldest migration legend of the tribe, postulates "an original home for the Pawnees in Old Mexico, and . . . a possible connection with the so-called 'Pueblo tribes'. . ."[81] The statement recorded by this authority to the effect that the Pawnee formerly dwelt in stone houses in the southwest[82] is hardly to be taken at face value. There is virtually nothing in Pawnee material culture to suggest puebloan influences, and since there was frequent contact between the two groups all through historic times the idea of a former use of stone habitations may be a relatively late and superficial addition to the account. Dorsey[83] carries the tribe back only as far as southeastern Nebraska, near the present site of Nemaha, and his traditions cast relatively little light

[80] 1880, a, p. 281.
[81] 1893, p. 224.
[82] Ibid.
[83] 1906, p. 8.

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on the problem of their southern home. Linguistic and ethnological studies among the southern Caddoan peoples and the fact that the Pawnee were in much closer contact with peoples to the south than with those to the north of the Platte have long since made it a certainty that the ancient habitat of the tribe lay somewhere near the Gulf coast, probably in southern Texas or northeastern Mexico, from where the northeastward movement took place.

The Skidi, we may note here, stood in a somewhat unique relationship to the other three bands. The traditions just reviewed relate primarily to the latter, i. e., to the Grand, Republican, and Tappage divisions, uniformly omitting the Skidi. The latter band claims to have lived always in the Valley of the Loup, where they were created, and, in conjunction with the Arikara, performed the first tribal ceremonies.[94] The Skidi always regarded themselves as more closely related to the Arikara than to the rest of the tribe, and it is possible that the latter at one time may have been under Skidi control. Dunbar presumed that they were descendants of one of the resident tribes conquered by the Pawnee upon their arrival on the Platte.[95] It has been further suggested that they represent the parent stock from which sprang all of the northern Pawnee bands as well as the Arikara.[96] Grinnell alone states that the Skidi were the last to arrive, coming "after the northern migration of the tribes and their settlement in northern Kansas and Nebraska";[97] the other observers state, or at least imply, that they were earlier. Not improbably the Skidi-Arikara group preceded the other bands into the Platte region, established themselves firmly, and came to regard their kindred as intruders when they arrived. Misunderstandings and violent quarrels were not uncommon between the Skidi and Grand Pawnee bands, even in later times, and possibly early punitive expeditions on the part of the latter, supported by the Republicans and Tappages, gave rise to the claims that the Skidi were a conquered tribe.[98] Thus there need not have been a great disparity in the time of arrival between the various divisions.

As to the time of arrival of the Pawnee in the Platte Valley tradition is silent, and there is little to guide us in making even an estimate. On the basis of linguistic studies Dunbar adduced the following:

> The language affords some evidence that their residence in the Valley of the Platte has been of some duration. *O-kut-ut* and *oku-kat* signify strictly *above* and *below* (of a stream), respectively. Now their villages have usually been

[94] Dorsey, 1904, p. 12.
[95] 1880, a, p. 252.
[96] Dorsey, 1906, p. 9.
[97] 1893, p. 215.
[98] Dunbar, 1880, a, p. 222.

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situated upon the banks of the Platte, the general course of which is from west to east. Hence each of these words has acquired a new meaning, i. e., *west* and *east*. So, also Kir-i-ku-ruks-tu, *forward* or *with* the Wichitas, has come to mean *south*. Such developments are perfectly natural in the history of a language but require time."

Dorsey[1] and Grinnell[2] merely place it at a time long before the coming of the white man. From historical data it appears probable that the tribe was somewhere north of the Kansas River by the time of Coronado's visit in 1541, and by 1673 the location of the Pawnee and neighboring tribes was essentially the same as it was at the opening of the nineteenth century.[3] This, together with the prehistoric and very early historic archeology, so far as it is now known, rather indicates that the Pawnee were firmly established in the Platte and Republican Valleys by the opening of the sixteenth century, and quite possibly long before that time.

Before leaving the subject of traditions we may briefly speculate on the identity of the peoples who were driven out of the northern valleys by the immigrant Pawnee. Dunbar's theory of a Siouan occupation is scarcely tenable, at least in the light of our present knowledge, since it is generally conceded that Oto, Ponca, and Omaha reached the area after the Pawnee had become permanently settled there. Tradition affords no information whatever, and neither Dorsey nor Grinnell even mention the conquest element. Lewis and Clark speak of the Comanche (Padouca) as having been at an earlier time in the region immediately west of the Pawnee.[4] Between this last tribe and the Pawnee there was ceaseless hostility, the former having a fortified village in the forks of the Dismal River.[5] How long the Padouca were in the region prior to this time there is no way of determining as yet, but it is quite possible that that tribe formerly held lands farther to the east which subsequently were wrested from them by the Pawnee. Continued warfare between the two tribes, even without any general conquest by one or the other, would tend to encourage traditions of great exploits, especially in the event of a particularly successful campaign. Another possibility is that the northward movement of the Pawnee combined with the southward pressure exerted by Shoshonean peoples, such as the Comanche, resulted in the expulsion from the plains of some Athapascan tribe. Thus the Apache and Navaho, who resided generally south of the Comanche, or some people ancestral to them, may have been forced into the southwest some centuries prior to the arrival

[1] 1880, a, p. 251.
[2] 1906, p. 8.
[3] 1893, p. 215.
[4] Marquette map, 1900, p. 108.
[5] 1815, 35 ff. See Thomas, 1935, for early history of the Apache and Comanche.
[6] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 88.

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of the Spanish. Space limitations forbid a more detailed consideration of this very interesting problem at the present time, but it seems quite plausible that either a southern Shoshonean or Athapascan people preceded the Pawnee in what is now central Nebraska.

The historic data on the Pawnee reveal two facts of major interest. In the first place there appears to have been a steady diminution in the amount of territory actually occupied by the Pawnee villages. Nearly all of the early maps and narratives by Spanish and French explorers, beginning with Coronado and continuing well into the eighteenth century, refer to the various Pawnee groups as inhabiting a considerable number of villages. That there was frequently exaggeration in their number and size is true, but taken in conjunction with political survivals in the matter of Skidi government as recorded by Murie,[6] together with the fact that subbands within each of the four major bands appear to have been originally separate village units,[7] it seems quite probable that formerly there were a number of separate villages scattered along the Platte, Loup, Republican, Blue, and Smoky Hill Rivers, as well as along the Missouri Valley and tributary streams in southeastern Nebraska and northeastern Kansas. In very early historic times these were for the most part given up, and by 1800 there were apparently only three or four major villages, one on the Republican and the others in the Platte-Loup region. The former was shortly abandoned, so that from 1809 until the final removal to the Indian Territory, the tribe dwelt generally in 2, 3, or 4 large settlements at various points along the lower courses of the Loup and Platte Rivers. This gradual concentration in a single small area was due probably in large part to the encroachment of hostile peoples, notably the Siouan Tribes on the east and north, and Athapascan or Algonkian groups on the west and south. The situation was not wholly unlike that postulated for the pueblo peoples about 1000 A. D.,[8] although it took place, of course, much later and with somewhat different consequences.

Secondly, the introduction of the horse deeply affected the Pawnee, as it did most of the plains tribes. Forays to the Southwest in quest of horses led to increasing contact with tribes there resident, though there seems to have been strikingly little influence on Pawnee material culture from these meetings. More important than this was the tendency toward a nomadic, bison-hunting mode of life made possible by the horse. Hand in hand with this went a decline in the native arts, particularly in ceramics, and an increasing dependence upon the white man's importations. From a sedentary

[6] 1914, pp. 545 ff.
[7] Grinnell, 1893, pp. 236–239.
[8] Kidder, 1924, pp. 125 ff.

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of the tribe's history, instead of a borrowing from the upper Missouri tribes, as Linton's hypothesis would imply. As to the southern origin of the type, it may be stated here that the work of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey on the Republican River during the summer of 1930 revealed the presence of prehistoric square houses with round corners, the superstructure of which was borne on a four-post, central foundation. The nature of this framework suggests a type of earth lodge dissimilar in shape from the historic structure of the Pawnee, but strongly reminiscent of certain square earth-covered houses found by Harrington in southwestern Arkansas.[13] Reported remains of more flimsily built structures, possibly grass houses, in the same district, have not been investigated as yet by the Survey. The square earth lodge was unknown in historic times on the plains, hence its earlier occurrence in both northern and southern Caddoan territory is of especial interest. It suggests the possible development of the circular Pawnee lodge from the square or rectangular type, in turn evolved either from the grass house or perhaps from some wattle and daub prototype. If such is the case, then the historic Pawnee dwelling may prove to be a local development from some earlier widespread Caddoan house type rather than a trait borrowed full-blown from the Arikara and Mandan. It is quite probable that the Arikara carried the trait onto the upper Missouri after their separation from the Skidi, but doubtless they secured the idea from their kindred in what is now central Nebraska. The Mandan and Hidatsa, then, and perhaps the other Siouan tribes concerned, may just as probably have received the earth-lodge complex from the Pawnee through the Arikara.[14] Quite possibly they had little or nothing to do with its original diffusion up the Missouri. Further archeological research in southern Nebraska and in Kansas should throw additional light on this very interesting problem of the origin of the Plains earth lodge.

The skin tipi came into very extensive use after the introduction of the horse and the adoption of a more nomadic hunting life, and was supplemented by the dome-shaped brush shelter. Both have been described in the section on house types in this paper, hence need not be reviewed here.

The underground caches or pits for the storage of food and property were a necessary adjunct to all Pawnee villages. They were of the type common all over the plains, though differing in certain details from those of the Mandan and possibly slightly from those in early prehistoric sites within the Pawnee area. Storage pits are reported also for the North Atlantic coast area,[15] and for certain

[13] 1920, pp. 256–260. Compare Strong, 1935, p. 276; Wedel, 1935, pp. 173–174.
[14] See Lowie, 1912.
[15] Wissler, 1922, p. 263.

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Cayuga sites in central New York.[16] Time and space limitations forbid a comparative study here of the distribution of the cache pit or a discussion of the structural details of its eastern form. However, the occurrence of the trait in two widely separate areas which exhibit certain other cultural parallels is at least a suggestive point.

As was pointed out in the discussion of Pawnee ceramics, there is a remarkable resemblance and perhaps a connection between the pottery of this tribe and the typical wares from Iroquoian sites of western New York. The overhanging collar, the hatched triangle motif in rim decoration, and the globular vessel shape are common to both areas, but appear to be absent in the intervening and surrounding cultures. Clay pipes of highly characteristic type later copied in stone were made by the Iroquoian potters, but among the historic Pawnee stone pipes were the rule.

The stonework generally resembles that of adjoining areas, with few distinctive or specialized forms. An exception is found in the arrowpoints. On protohistoric and some historic Pawnee village sites the small, triangular, unnotched points are decidely predominant; stemmed types are rare, at least prior to 1800 or thereabouts. In northeastern and central Kansas, territory formerly under Pawnee and Wichita dominance, these same points are prevalent. Parker mentions similar thin, delicately chipped triangles or arrowpoints of chert as one of the diagnostics of Iroquoian culture.[17] They are also reported from the Ohio Valley, regarded by Parker as the probable route of the northward migration of the New York Iroquois.[18] The type, as such, is by no means rare, but its preponderance over all other forms in Iroquoian and Caddoan areas is rather striking, and possibly represents another link in the chain of traits connecting the two groups. It may be noted also that pitted discoidals and hammerstones are common to both areas. The Puebloan type of metate, though common in central Kansas, was replaced among the Pawnee by flat or slightly hollowed anvil stones; pestles are rare. Parker states that the Iroquois used a flattened muller and a shallow flattened mortar, or meal stone, as well as anvils.[19] The grooved mauls and axes, as well as ungrooved, polished celts, point eastward, but not necessarily beyond Iowa or Missouri. The presence of catlinite obviously indicates northern contacts, probably by trade rather than through actual visits to the pipestone quarries of southern Minnesota.

Objects of bone and horn conform to plains types but differ occasionally from earlier prehistoric cultures of the Pawnee area.

[16] Skinner, 1921, pp. 43–46.
[17] 1916, p. 484. See Wedel, 1935, p. 347, for the type in Kansas.
[18] Ibid., pp. 482, 495 ff.
[19] 1916, p. 484.

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Shaft straighteners, picks, hide scrapers, fleshing tools, paint brushes, beaming tools, digging implements, horn spoons, all find their counterparts among the Mandan, Dakota, or other nearby plains tribes. The tubular plume holder and roach spreader are similar to those still used by the Comanche, Omaha, Menominee, and others.

The presence of considerable shellwork is frequently taken as indicative of trade relations with peoples on the Gulf coast, as the molluscan forms now found in the streams of Nebraska differ from those recovered by excavation in old village sites. However, silting up of the rivers due to widespread agricultural development may have resulted in the comparatively recent extinction of species formerly common within the area, so that no very remote source for most of the raw shell need be postulated.

Further connections with the eastern woodlands may be detected in the use of wood for carving vessels. For the most part the pieces are simple in shape, showing no resemblances whatever to Pawnee pottery forms. Shallow platters and deep cups and bowls are the only forms yet recovered. The use of the upright wooden mortar, made by hollowing out one end of a section of log, is strikingly reminiscent of the eastern maize area generally. With the exception of the flat anvil stone, the wooden mortar appears to have been the sole means of grinding corn and seeds, replacing entirely the metate found south of the Kansas River.

In the use of bison hair for weaving cloth may be seen another trait which, while not unusual in the bison area as a whole, was most strongly developed in the lower Mississippi region. Presumably it was a part of the original culture complex carried northward by the tribe in its migrations. Twined weaving appears only in the form of reed matting; it is likewise common to the east, along the Mississippi.[20] Coiled basketry, as reported by Weltfish [21] for the Pawnee, has not been found in archeological remains, nor would it be easy, if such were the case, to determine whether the single rod coil foundation prevailed in early as in recent times.[22] Coiling, however, is a western trait, which probably reached the Pawnee and other Caddoan tribes by diffusion through the southwestern or Great Basin peoples.

With regard to mortuary customs the Pawnee uniformly practiced inhumation. The body was generally partially flexed, but there was no fixed orientation for it and no special side on which it was laid. Early prehistoric sites on the Republican River, which show certain similarities to the Pawnee and may be directly related, are asso-

[20] Mason, 1904, p. 231.
[21] 1930, pp. 278–286.
[22] Ibid., pp. 280, 286.

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ciated with ossuaries and also with bundle burials, but yield only limited amounts of material remains, and those mostly fragmentary. This again suggests the southeast as well as the early Iroquoian sites of New York.[23] Ossuary, tree, and scaffold burials were not used by the historic Pawnee.

As will have become obvious by this time, the material traits in Pawnee culture were drawn in largest measure from the east and southeast. Kroeber's recent summary statement regarding plains cultures in general applies peculiarly to the Pawnee, viz, that "the Plains traits that have historic depth . . . seem Woodland, and date from the time when such Plains culture as there was constituted a margin at the fringe of a natural area. The forces which infused this marginal culture, like those of the northern and eastern margins, had their heads in the Southeast."[24] These traits were acquired largely during the residence of the tribe in the old Caddoan habitat on the lower Mississippi and adjacent areas to the west. They sprang from the same basic subpattern as did the Iroquoian, Muskhogean, and related cultures of the Eastern Woodland. As Sapir has suggested on linguistic grounds, the early connections appear to have been especially close between Pawnee and Iroquoian peoples. Kroeber also implies this in pointing out the distribution of the matrilineate in the Eastern Woodlands (Iroquoian-Muskhogean) and in the plains (Pawnee-Hidatsa-Crow).[25] Southwestern or puebloan traits, so far as material evidences are concerned, are almost wholly absent, although certain of them penetrated into north central Kansas. In other words, the Pawnee formerly constituted a part of the Southeastern Woodlands culture area in its more western peripheral phase, retaining and disseminating many of the traits thus acquired throughout the period of their northern residence until the final withering of native plains culture before the European conquest.

[23] Parker, 1916, p. 492.
[24] 1928, p. 896.
[25] Ibid.